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1981/06/16

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INCOMING
TELEGRAM

49

SECRET 400701

PAGE 01 SFC TO 44063 01 OF 08 161020Z
ACTION NOUR-00

(COPY 20 OF 20 COPIES)

INFO OCT-01 AOS-00 /001 W

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N 161718Z JUN 81 ZFF-4
FM USDFL SECRETARY IN PEIJING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0470

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 08 SFC TO 44063

NODIS

E.O. 12958: XGDS-1, 6/15/11 (HOLDING, JOHN W.
TAGS: DUTY (HATG); ALEXANDER M., JR.), CH
SUBJECT: THE SECRETARY'S BILATERAL WITH GENG BIAN, JUNE
15, 1981

NODIS REVIEW

Cat. A - Caption removed:
transferred to IM/IS/FPC
Cat. B - Transferred to IM/IS/FPC
with additional access
controlled by S/S

Cat. C - Caption and custody
retained by S/S

Reviewed by: Elish Kolly, Jr.

5/16/95

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: THE SECRETARY HAD A FRIENDLY AND HIGHLY
SIGNIFICANT TWO-HOUR MEETING WITH CHINESE VICE PREMIER/
DEFENSE MINISTER GENG BIAO LATE THIS AFTERNOON. AFTER
GENG NOTED THAT HE HAD BEEN BRIEFED ON MY HUANG HUA
SESSION, HE WENT ON TO INDICATE

B1 43

THE SECRETARY INFORMED GENG OF THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION
TO EXPAND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS AND TO CONSIDER ARMS SALES
TO CHINA ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, AND GENG EXPRESSED
APPRECIATION

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THE SECRETARY
PROPOSED THAT VICE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF, GENERAL
LIU HUIYING, REQUEST THE U.S. FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF
PMC REOUTHEMENTS WITH HQ IN AUGUST. GENG AGREED AND
GATU

R: A3

THE SECRETARY TOLD GENG
CAP WEINBERGER LOOKED FORWARD TO VISITING CHINA: HE MAY
BE BACK TO US TOMORROW ON SURGESTER TIMING.

R1 A3

END SUMMARY.

3. GENG HAD WELCOMED THE SECRETARY AND HIS PARTY TO
THE RECEPTION HALL OF THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE IN
BEIJING AT 4:45 P.M., JUNE 19, 1981. THE SECRETARY
NOTED THAT WHEN HE HAD LAST COME TO BEIJING NINE AND A
HALF YEARS AGO VICE PREMIER GENG HAD OPEN ON AN
OVERSEAS ASSIGNMENT. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WAS AWARE
OF GENG'S IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITY AND HAD LOOKED
FORWARD TO MEETING WITH HIM.

4. GENG SAID THAT THE CHINESE WERE DELIGHTED THAT
PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD SENT SUCH AN IMPORTANT AND LARGE
DELEGATION OFFICIALLY TO CHINA FOR THE FIRST TIME DURING
HIS ADMINISTRATION. HE EXPRESSED HIS PLEASURE THAT IN
A VERY BRIEF PERIOD IN BEIJING THE SECRETARY WOULD BE
ABLE TO SEE SO MANY CHINESE LEADERS, COMMENTING THAT
THIS SHOWED NOT ONLY THE SECRETARY'S ENERGY BUT ALSO
THE FRIENDSHIP THAT EXISTED BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

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3. THE SECRETARY INTRODUCED THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE REPRESENTATIVE IN HIS DELEGATION, MR. ARMITAGE. MR. ARMITAGE, HE SAID, COULD SPEAK FOR SECRETARY WEINBERGER. THE SECRETARY SHARED HIS VIEW OF THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF U.S. - CHINA RELATIONS. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT SECRETARY WEINBERGER LOOKED FORWARD TO A VISIT TO CHINA DURING WHICH HE COULD DISCUSS MUTUAL DEFENSE CONCERNS WITH HIS CHINESE COUNTERPARTS. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT IN THE MORNING HE HAD ENGAGED IN A JOINT STRATEGIC ASSESSMENT OF GLOBAL, REGIONAL, AND BILATERAL ISSUES WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER. IN VIEW OF GONG RIAO'S IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE DEFENSE OF CHINA, HE SAID, HE LOOKED FORWARD TO DISCUSSING MANY OF THE SAME ISSUES WITH HIM.

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ACTION 4008-08

INFO ACT-01 ANS-04 /001 4

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FM UNDER SECRETARY IN BEIJING
TO SECRETARY WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5471

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NOTE:

6. GENG SAID THAT THE CHINESE HAD A CUSTOM OF LISTENING
FIRST TO "FRIENDS WHO CAME FROM AFAR." HE LOOKED
FORWARD TO HEARING WHAT THE SECRETARY HAD TO SAY ON
THOSE SUBJECTS.

7. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT BOTH YESTERDAY AND THIS
MORNING HIS DISCUSSION WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD
FOCUSED ON CERTAIN COMMON CONCERNS OVER SOVIET ACTIVITIES.

FROM THE AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW, HE SAID, THE MOST
IMPORTANT TASK HE HAD TOUCHED ON WAS THE REBUILDING OF
U.S. MILITARY STRENGTH IN ORDER TO ENABLE US TO CARRY
OUT OUR POLICIES.

8. IN THIS REGARD, HE SAID, WE INTEND TO ADD 30 BILLION
DOLLARS TO THE OFFENSE BUDGET OF THE PREVIOUS
ADMINISTRATION THIS YEAR, AND OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS
WE WILL ADD AN ADDITIONAL 200 BILLION DOLLARS. THE
IMPROVEMENTS TO OUR MILITARY POSTURE THAT WE SEEK TO
REVERSE ADVERSE STRATEGIC TRENDS WILL FOCUS ON
REINFORCEMENT OF OUR CENTRAL STRATEGIC AND NUCLEAR
SYSTEMS, AND EVEN MORE DRAMATIC STRENGTHENING OF
GROUND, AIR, AND SEA CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITIES. WE ARE
GIVING PRIORITY TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION OF A

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NEW STRATEGIC POWER, AS WELL AS LAND-BASED NUCLEAR DELIVERY SYSTEMS SUCH AS THE MX. WE INTEND TO AC A LARGE NUMBER OF LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES WITH BOTH NUCLEAR AND NON-NUCLEAR CAPABILITY. THIS SHOULD MORE THAN BALANCE THE GROWTH IN SOVIET NUCLEAR POWER. IN GROUND FORCE MODERNIZATION WE ARE DEVELOPING A WHOLE NEW FAMILY OF TANKS AND ARMoured FIGHTING VEHICLES, GROUND TO GROUND ROCKETS, A NEW FAMILY OF ASSAULT AND CARGO HELICOPTERS, AND THREE NEW AIR OFFENSE WEAPONS. WE ARE STRENGTHENING PREPOSITIONED WAR MATERIAL STOCKS IN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST IN ORDER TO ENABLE US TO REINFORCE AREAS OF CRISIS ON A SPEEDY BASIS. WE ARE WORKING TO ENHANCE OUR LIFT CAPABILITY BOTH IN THE AIR AND AT SEA TO ENABLE US TO MOVE OUR FORCES AND THEIR EQUIPMENT QUICKLY TO CRISIS AREAS.

9. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD APPROVED SECRETARY WEINBERGER'S RECOMMENDATION THAT WE CREATE A NEW COMMAND WHICH WOULD EXERCISE COMMAND AND CONTROL OF OUR FORCES GLOBALLY, PARTICULARLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AREA. THIS WOULD REPLACE FORMER ARRANGEMENTS, WHICH HAD BEEN TRANSQUANT.

10. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN OUR FORCES WOULD, HOWEVER, BE IN THE AREA OF NAVAL CONSTRUCTION. WE INTEND TO DEVELOP A NAVY OF 600 VESSELS IN PLACE OF THE 450 AUTHORIZED BY THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ASSETS WE HAVE IN THE AREA OF FORCE PROJECTION IS OUR CARRIERS. WE INTEND TO DEVELOP 15 CARRIER TASK FORCES INSTEAD OF THE 12 PROJECTED BY THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. THIS WOULD ENABLE US TO STRENGTHEN OUR FORCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE PACIFIC WHILE MAINTAINING EXISTING STRENGTH IN THE

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MEDITERRANEAN AND THE ATLANTIC AREAS.

11. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT WE MUST PROVIDE GREATER SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO FRIENDS WHO SHARE OUR CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET EXPANSIONISM. WE WERE DOING SO ALREADY WITH RESPECT TO TURKEY, EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA, PAKISTAN, AND THAILAND. WE HAD BEGUN MODERATE LEVELS OF SUPPORT TO COUNTRIES LIKE SUDAN AND SOMALIA, WHICH HAD NOT BEFORE BEEN RECIPIENTS OF U.S. ASSISTANCE. WE WERE COORDINATING CLOSELY WITH OTHER NATIONS WHO CAN ASSIST IN THIS EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN THE FORCES OPPOSED TO SOVIET EXPANSIONISM. FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAD CONDUCTED VERY CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SAUDIS IN ORDER TO ENLIST THEIR SUPPORT FOR MILITARY BUILD UP IN PAKISTAN, SUDAN AND SOMALIA, WHICH WERE THREATENED EITHER DIRECTLY BY THE SOVIETS OR INDIRECTLY THROUGH MR. NASSER. WE WERE STATIFYING ADDITIONAL MATERIAL OVERSEAS, BUILDING LOGISTICAL SUPPORT SHIPS, AND GAINING FURTHER ACCESS TO STRATEGIC FACILITIES IN COUNTRIES AND AREAS SUCH AS EGYPT, DIEGO GARCIA, KENYA, SOMALIA AND OMAN.

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ACTION 4009-08

INFO ACT-01 ADS-08 /RPI W

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O 161718Z JUN 81 ZFF-4
FM UNOFL SECRETARY IN BEIJING
TO SECRETARY WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5R72

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12. ANOTHER DRAMATIC INCREASE WAS TAKING PLACE IN THE AREA OF JOINT TRAINING AND PLANNING WITH FRIENDLY NATIONS. THIS INCLUDED FRIENDLY NATIONS IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. WE ARE GIVING THEM GREATER ACCESS TO ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY AND ALLOWING THEIR PILOTS AND OFFICERS TO TRAIN ON THE MOST ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY WE HAVE. THE SECRETARY CITED EGYPT, OMAN, THAILAND, JAPAN, AND KOREA IN THIS REGARD. HE NOTED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD ALREADY MODIFIED THE BASIC MILITARY ASSISTANCE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO PROVIDE MORE ADVANTAGEOUS AND ADVANCED ASSISTANCE TO NATIONS WITH WHICH WE HAVE SUCH ARRANGEMENTS. THIS WOULD MEAN, FOR EXAMPLE, MORE F-15'S AND F-16'S TO JAPAN AND KOREA. IT WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR NATIONS TO ACQUIRE AMERICAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT IF THEY SHARE OUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE "POLAR BEAR."

13. FINALLY, IN THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION, THE SECRETARY SAID, WE WERE FOCUSING ESPECIALLY ON STRENGTHENING OUR TIES WITH AUSTRALIA. HE HAD REACHED AGREEMENT WITH AUSTRALIA TO PERMIT OUR A-7'S TO TRANSIT TO THE INDIAN OCEAN, AND HAD AGREED TO IMPROVE MARITIME SURVEILLANCE WITH BOTH AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. WE WERE IMPROVING OUR SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO ASEAN THROUGH LOW-KEY IMPROVEMENT OF INFORMAL DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS.

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MENTA WITH EACH OF THE ASEAN NATIONS.

14. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE HAD GONE INTO SOME DETAIL IN ORDER TO VICE VICE PREMIER GENG AN INDICATION OF THE PRECISE STEPS HE PLANNED TO TAKE IN THE DEFENSE AREA. THESE STEPS UNDERLINE PRESIDENT REAGAN'S CLEAR RECOGNITION OF THE GREATEST DANGER TO ALL NATIONS AND TO WORLD PEACE, I.E., THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS CARELESS SEARCH FOR HEGEMONY.

15. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT VICE PREMIER GENG HAD HELD DISCUSSIONS WITH FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY HAROLD BROWN IN THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. HE WERE AWARE THAT CERTAIN LONG-STANDING U.S. POLICIES RESTRICTED CHINA'S ELIGIBILITY TO PURCHASE MILITARY EQUIPMENT, TECHNOLOGY, AND WEAPONS FROM THE UNITED STATES. PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS CHANGED THESE POLICIES, THE SECRETARY SAID. THIS WOULD ENABLE CHINA TO PURCHASE MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM THE UNITED STATES ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS IN ACCORD WITH CHINA'S OWN WISHES AND NEEDS.

THIS IS A SENSITIVE SUBJECT, THE SECRETARY CONTINUED, AND HE ANTICIPATED THAT THIS ASPECT OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WOULD PROGRESS IN AN EVOLUTIONARY CASE-BY-CASE WAY. WE COULD CHASE STEADILY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE WISHES OF THE CHINESE.

16. THE SECRETARY CONCLUDED THAT VICE PREMIER GENG HAD BEEN VERY PATIENT IN LISTENING TO HIS EXPOSITION AND THAT HE WOULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY TO WELCOME GENG'S VIEW.

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FM USOFI SECRETARY IN RETJNG
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5873

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22. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD THE GREAT PROBLEM OF A FOUR-YEAR ELECTORAL CYCLE. DIALOGUES TERMINATE AND MUST BE STARTED AGAIN. RECOGNIZING THIS, PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD CONDUCTED A POLICY REVIEW ON THESE VERY QUESTIONS. THE PRESIDENT HAD NOW APPROVED POLICIES SUBSTANTIALLY MORE FORTHCOMING IN THE AREA OF TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER. THE SECRETARY SUGGESTED THAT HE START IMMEDIATELY TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES IN THE NEW CONTEXT. PERHAPS VICE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF GENERAL LIU HUADONG COULD VISIT THE UNITED STATES IN AUGUST. HE MIGHT BRING A LIST OF THE 29 AND PERHAPS ANOTHER 29 TO DISCUSS WITH SECRETARY WEINBERGER AND HIS STAFF. WE WOULD SEEK A PROMPT RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS.

23. GENG SAID THIS SOUNDED LIKE A GOOD SUGGESTION. THE CHINESE SIDE APPROVED IT. HE ASKED WHEN THE VISIT SHOULD TAKE PLACE. THE SECRETARY INDICATED AUGUST. GENG ACCEPTED. THE SECRETARY INDICATED THE PRECISE TIME IN AUGUST COULD BE WORKED OUT THROUGH

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DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. GEN SAID THAT HE WOULD GIVE THE LIST OF 42 PLUS ITEMS, INCLUDING THE 20 THAT WERE APPROVABLE AND THE NINE THAT HAD BEEN SUPPOSEDLY APPROVED, PLUS PERHAPS THREE OR FOUR NEW ITEMS TO REPORT TO THE SECRETARY THROUGH CHAI CHENGCHEN. THE THINGS THAT WERE MENTIONED ON THAT LIST WERE WHAT CHINA NEEDED FOR ITSELF, GEN SAID.

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24. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE HAD ALWAYS BEEN A PROponent OF SUCH PRODUCTION-SHARING ARRANGEMENTS. BUT OUR PRODUCTION BASE WAS LIMITED. DELIVERY TIMES

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ACTION 4009-08

INFO OCT-01 405-08 /001 W
-----834210 1020237 /00
O 161718Z JUN 81 ZFF-4
FM UNOFL SECRETARY IN BEIJING
TO SECRETARY WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5874

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OF ITEMS WERE OFTEN TOO LONG. THAT WAS WHY WE WERE
ATTEMPTING AT PRESENT TO EXPAND OUR PRODUCTION BASE
AS WELL AS EXPAND OUR MILITARY FORCES PER SE. GENG
SAID

B1A3

25. THE SECRETARY SAID THIS WAS INDEED ONE OF THE
GREAT DIFFICULTIES FOR PAKISTAN. UNDER SECRETARY
RUCKELSHAUER WAS VISITING ISLAMABAD NOW TO EXPLAIN IN SOME
DETAIL WHAT HE WERE ABLE AND PREPARED TO DO. THE
DANGER TO OUR FRIENDS IN PAKISTAN, THE SECRETARY SAID,
WAS THAT IF THEY AGREED TO A MAJOR U.S. PROGRAM AND
THEN HAD TO WAIT A LONG TIME, THEY WERE VULNERABLE
IN THE INTERIM. THEY THUS ACCEPT A GREATER RISK OF
SOVIET ACTION AGAINST PROBABLY USING AFGHAN FORCES
ACROSS THE BORDER WHILE THEY DO NOT HAVE THE MEANS
TO RESIST SUCH ATTACK.

26.

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THE SECRETARY AGREED, ADDING THAT PAKISTAN NEEDED SOPHISTICATED AIRCRAFT. HE HAD A PROBLEM OF TESTING AND PRODUCTION AND A PROBLEM OF DIVERTING SUCH AIRCRAFT FROM OUR OWN AIR FORCE WHICH REALLY NEEDED THEM. THERE WAS ALSO THE PROBLEM, HE SAID, OF LEGISLATION BY THE CONGRESS TO PERMIT THE SALE OF SUCH ITEMS IN THE FIRST PLACE. GENG COMMENTED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD A PECULIARLY COMPLICATED SYSTEM OF LEGISLATION.

B1 A3

B1 A5

28. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT, IN HIS VIEW, IMMEDIATE HELP TO PAKISTAN WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT STRATEGIC QUESTION FACING THE UNITED STATES AT PRESENT. THE RUSSIANS HAD REPEATEDLY WARNED US THAT WE MUST NOT HELP PAKISTAN. THEREFORE, WHEN WE DID SO, WE MUST BE PREPARED FOR TROUBLE. SUCH TROUBLE COULD COME PERHAPS IN IRAN OR THROUGH AFGHAN PROXIES TOWARDING PAKISTAN. PRESTONET 71A COULD HANDLE THIS IF WE GAVE ENOUGH HELP, BUT THE SOVIETS MUST CLEARLY UNDERSTAND THAT WE WOULD NOT TOLERATE SUCH BEHAVIOR

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ON THEIR PART,
29. GENG SAID

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THE SECRETARY COMMENTED THAT HE HAD
JUST SEEN A REPORT FROM A HIGH RANKING HUSBAN
OFFICER IN AFGHANISTAN. IT WAS VERY DETAILED AND
VERY POSITIVE. THE REPORT SAID THAT THE SOVIETS
IN AFGHANISTAN HAD FOUND THEIR OWN "VIETNAM." GENG
COMMENTED THAT THE AFGHANS WERE A VERY TOUGH NATION.
THE SECRETARY ADDED THAT THEY ARE ALSO VERY COURAGEOUS.

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ACTION NODS-70

INFO OCT-71 AOS-44 /701

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FM USOPR SECRETARY IN RETJING
TO SECRETATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5879

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11. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT WE MUST HELP THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN AFGHANISTAN IN WAYS THAT ARE CONTROLLED BY PAKISTAN SO AS NOT TO INCUR UNACCEPTABLE RISKS FOR THE PAKISTANIS. WE HAVE BEEN DOING SO AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO WITH OUR FRIENDS: THE CHINESE, THE EGYPTIANS, THE SAUDIS, AND PERHAPS THE BRITISH. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE CONTINUE ON THAT COURSE. GENG SAID

B1 A3

12. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT GENERAL WALTERS HAD BEEN HOLDING STRATEGIC DISCUSSIONS OF A VERY SENSITIVE NATURE WITH FRIENDLY NATIONS SUCH AS EGYPT AND SAUDI ARABIA. HE WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE THAT GENERAL WALTERS VISIT BEIJING FROM TIME TO TIME FOR SUCH STRATEGIC DISCUSSIONS. WE COULD THEN BETTER COORDINATE OUR ACTIONS. GENERAL WALTERS WOULD, OF COURSE, BE ACCOMPANIED BY A DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE REPRESENTATIVE, HE SAID. THIS WAS A DIFFERENT MATTER FROM INTELLIGENCE. DISCUSSIONS ON THAT SHOULD BE CONDUCTED WITHIN AN INTELLIGENCE FRAMEWORK. GENERAL WALTERS PURPOSE WAS POLITICAL/MILITARY DISCUSSIONS. GENG SAID THAT THIS WAS A VERY GOOD IDEA. HE NOTED THAT GENERAL WALTERS HAD ALREADY BEGUN TO

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MAKE CONTACT. THE SECRETARY SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT WE REMAIN IN TOUCH IN THIS WAY. AMERICAN POLICIES WILL EVOLVE. THEREFORE, THE INTEGRATION OF OUR POLICIES WILL BE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT AS WE CONFRONT THE DANGEROUS PERIOD AHEAD.

33. KENG SAID THAT IN TERMS OF MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS, HE HOPED THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO INCREASE MILITARY EXCHANGES, IF NOT THIS YEAR THEN THE NEXT. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE FAVORED SUCH AN INCREASE AND KNEW THAT SECRETARY DEINROEDER WOULD ALSO WELCOME IT.

34. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT WE MUST ALWAYS BE PREPARED TO MOVE QUICKLY TO STRENGTHEN OUR RELATIONS. ON OUR SIDE, SHOULD THE RUSSIANS MOVE INTO POLAND, DRAMATIC MOVES TO STRENGTHEN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS MIGHT BE CONSIDERED. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE

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ACTION 400642

INFO OCT-21 ADS-08 /001 R
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FM USSR SECRETARY IN BEIJING
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CHINESE CONSIDER SUCH MOVE ON A CONTINGENCY BASIS ON
THIS SIDE AS WELL. IF THE RUSSIANS TOOK RASH ACTION
THAT REQUIRES AN IMMEDIATE AND DYNAMIC RESPONSE,
WE MUST BE PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE SUCH A RESPONSE
QUICKLY. TO SAY THIS WAS NOT TO SUGGEST IN ANY WAY
THAT U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS WERE A CARD GAME, BUT
RATHER TO RECOGNIZE THAT SOVIET MISTAKES
OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY TO BRING ABOUT MORE QUICKLY
WHAT WE WOULD ULTIMATELY WANT TO DO IN ANY EVENT.
SOVIET MISTAKES WOULD THUS FACILITATE THE HISTORIC
DEVELOPMENT OF U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS. THE SECRETARY
CONCLUDED THAT HE RELIEVED THIS WAS VERY
IMPORTANT

NS: GENG SAID

B/A3

SECRETARY SAID HE AGREED. THE GREATEST DANGER IN
WESTERN EUROPE WITH OUR ALLIES WAS THAT MANY OF
THEY FELT THAT IF THE SOVIETS DID NOT MOVE INTO
POLAND, THEY SHOULD BE REWARDED BY OUR
FORGETTING AFGHANISTAN. WE HAD THEREFORE DISCUSSED
THIS ISSUE IN SOME AT THE NATO MINISTERIAL AT SOME
LENGTH. WE HAD INSISTED THAT AFGHANISTAN BE PUT IN
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AN IMPORTANT PLACE IN THE RESULTING COMMUNITHE.
16. GENG SAID

B4-13

37. THE SECRETARY JOVED THAT GENG WAS HELPING HIM TO
WRITE HIS SPEECH IN MANILA. HE EXPRESSED TOTAL
AGREEMENT WITH GENG'S VIEW. POLAND WAS IMPORTANT
FOR POLITICAL REASONS WHILE AFGHANISTAN AND KAMPUCHA
WERE IMPORTANT FOR STRATEGIC REASONS. AFGHANISTAN
REPRESENTED THE FIRST TIME THE SOVIET UNION HAD
MOVED OUT OF ITS SPHERE OF INFLUENCE
TO SEEK HEGEMONY SINCE WORLD WAR II. IN THE SECRETARY'S
VIEW THIS WAS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT STRATEGIC EVENT SINCE
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THE END OF THE WAR, POLAND WAS, OF COURSE, ALREADY
IN THEIR SPHERE. IT WAS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THEY
MIGHT BE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT IT, BUT POLAND AND
THE POLISH SITUATION WERE POLITICAL IMPERATIVE NOT
STRATEGIC IMPERATIVE.

ND.

B/43

THE SECRETARY MOVED THE MATTER
IN OFFICE OF THE ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, NOTING

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FM USDFL SECRETARY IN BEIJING
TO SECRETARY WASHDC 0077

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WONIA

THAT HE COULD SPEAK VERY INDEPENDENTLY TO THIS
SUBJECT, AS HE HAD IN WASHINGTON TWO TO THREE
WEEKS BEFORE. THE POLISH SITUATION WAS INDEED
CONTAGIOUS. GENG SAID THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE IN THE
FUTURE THAT THERE MIGHT BE THREE OR FOUR MORE
POLANDS. THE SECRETARY SAID HE COULD TAKE LITTLE
COMFORT IN THAT BECAUSE THAT MERELY INCREASED THE
DANGER.

30. GENG SAID

B1 A3

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